/39/

291 Long before the present phase of acculturation, which has
177 been going on for five or six decades perhaps, the continental
132 climate of southern Mato Grosso, quite severe in the winter months, had already forced the Guaraní populations (mainly the Kayová) of the region to adopt garments in order to protect themselves against the inclement weather. The direct influence of Chaco tribes in this respect is undeniable.

291 The principal pieces of the traditional male clothing of the
[283] Kayová are three: the txiripá, the txumbé, and the ponchito.
[462] All of them are made of cotton fiber (mandydjú inimbó), pro-
[286] duced by the Indians themselves. The work of spinning, dyeing, and
[386] weaving falls on the women. Nowadays, however, these artifacts
291 of the Kayová Indian are becoming more and more rare. The
178 present generation still remembers the time when many wore these garments, which are on the verge of disappearing. And it has not been very long ago that they were mandatory for anyone who
[796] wanted to participate in the dances and prayers. Paí Vitaliano
[881] in Dourados still displays them as a sacerdotal ornament for the celebration of the "baptism of the maize /Port. milho/" and other great solemnities, especially in the initiation of the boys. Among the Kayová of Amambai I heard it said that the boys, for their part, adorn themselves for the great ceremony with the traditional clothing of the tribe and with feather ornaments on the head and hands.

291 The txiripá, which falls below the knee, giving the impres-
[192] sion of a skirt, is a simple cloth of cotton thread, rectangular in shape and provided with fringes (ipotý) on three sides. The upper part (which does not have any fringe), folded back beforehand, in a width of half a span, goes around the waist, from right to left, turning in the front as far as the left hip, so as to cover the anterior part of the body doubly and the posterior part only once.

[114] In all my visits to Kayová villages I found only one txiripá:
[386] that of Paí Vitaliano of Dourados. It is made of undyed cotton and measures some 140 by 75 centimeters; like all or almost all objects linked to the religious cult, it displays urucú /annatto/ stains by way of decoration.

2: Schaden--107 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/89 cont./

846 them all for people. The story is analogous to that of the odjépotá
825 of the anta, which refers to the resguardo of the young girl who is
773 menstruating.

• [881] The change in the conditions of life, along with the desire
846 to avoid criticism and mockery on the part of foreign individuals,
178 brings about the decline of the masculine post-parturition. As it is not always possible to interrupt the work in the clearing until the umbilical cord falls off, that is, for a week or more, they stay at home only two or three days, /90/ and they no longer take the danger of the odjépotá so seriously either. The fear seems to
[881] continue quite actively, however, with regard to the menstruating girl. Concerning the maternal resguardo, it seems to be subject rather to augmentation, possibly as a consequence of acculturation.
846 Among the Ñandéva of Araribá I was told that the mother who,
178 instead of staying at home, goes out into the forest is exposed to
825 the same dangers of enchantment that hang over the girl in her puberal eclosion. A man-beast would attract her and would not
[826] leave her for many years; she would be "hairy like an animal," odjépotá (victim of sexual enchantment), and dangerous for other human beings. It seems to be a matter of a process of the transference of beliefs to an analogous situation because of a previous change in behavior.

881 There are few aspects of his culture about which the Kayová maintains such rigorous secrecy as he does concerning the practices
[609] that integrate the initiation of the boys. It is affirmed that up to
[304] now they have not allowed any foreigner to be present at these ceremonies, whose culminating point is the piercing of the lower
[178] lip. The Ñandéva nowadays do not know the practice, while the
[184] Mbúa do not take it as the center of ceremonial elaboration.

It is much easier to obtain information about the observances that mark the biological maturation of the feminine element. While the initiation of the boys constitutes an event of profound religious significance, that of the girls is, in essence, reduced to a certain number of prescriptions of "resguardo," of prophylaxis, in order to prevent the menstruating girl from exposing herself to

/90 cont./

881 the supernatural dangers stemming from such a delicate state. When
[582] it takes place, the boys' initiation, a collective ceremony that
[561] represents the ascension of a new age-stratum to the category of the marriageable, arouses the interest of the whole community. To be sure, that of the girl is an individual event, and, because of that, of much more restricted social importance, which is the reason that the ceremonial pageantry is considered dispensable.

881 Furthermore, it can be said that the Guaraní culture is of markedly
181 masculine orientation. The religion is, not exclusively, but pre-
582 dominantly, in the hands of the men, and it is through that that
[771] the dominant aspects of the cultural ethos are more manifestly and
[561] perceptibly expressed. It is therefore understandable that the things bound up with the masculine world, among them the initiation of the boys, merit more social interest or participation -- in spite of there not being (from the social and cultural points of view) a rigorous division between age strata, as we have seen above.

881 /91/ Why is it necessary to surround the girl with special care during her first menstrual period? She is on the brink of a new biological phase, and, just as on the occasion of her birth her father (and mother) must substitutively abstain from certain foods and activities in order that the newborn child may be able to survive, now the girl, through the resguardo, defends herself from the misfortunes that the new condition could bring upon her. The puberal resguardo should not be interpreted only in the sense of "rite" for the social "recognition" of biological maturity and subsequent possibility of marriage.

There is no doubt but that the first menses are regarded as the event responsible for the most delicate manifestation of crisis in the life of the Guaraní woman. In the three subdivisions of the group the puberal eclosion is regarded as surrounded by the gravest dangers.

Both for the state of the menstruating girl and for the period of resguardo to which she is subjected, the Guaraní use the designation ñemondýiã. Aside from this term, there is also used the denomination odjekóaku, generic, by the way, for the principal crisis states of the individual that require resguardo.

/91 cont./

881 302 301 When the first menses appear, the hair of the adolescent is cut in circular fashion, or her head is shorn, and she keeps it covered with a cloth, in order to avoid the attacks of evil spirits and in particular the odjépotá (1).

1./In the original source, the notes for Ch. VI appear on pp. 97-98./ The Mbüá told me that among them the task of cutting the girl's hair falls to the father, immediately on the first day of the indisposition. With her hair, the girl makes -- for her father, brother, or another person in the family -- a band that constitutes one of the typical elements of Guaraní material culture, since it is an ornament common to the three subgroups of the tribe. It is mainly the men who wear it, with some forty or more turns around each wrist, forming a band about ten centimeters wide. It is a cord twined out of two strands of 10 to 20 threads of hair in each one. The Kayová call the ornament pó-apý-kuahá, the Mbüá simply pó-kuáá. The Nandéva, who already have almost completely abandoned it, say that it originated as protection against the bowstring, which seems doubtful, since its use on both wrists would not be justified. The Kayová consider the pó-apý-kuahá as a festive ornament, comparable, in the words of Paí Tomás, to the new clothes of the civilized people. The Mbüá, who put the band both on the wrists and on the legs, the men above and the women below the calves, tetýmĩguá and tetýmĩkuáá, interpret its use as a divine institution for the "Guarani" to be distinguished from other Indians. But they also indicate the magical end of avoiding the tiredness of the musculature of the arms and legs, the tetýmĩguá therefore being considered indispensable on long walks.

881 301 (184)

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2: Schaden--110 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/91 cont./

881 301 considered indispensable on long walks. At Xapecó I was told that especially the women tend to abandon the band for the legs, "because the Portuguese mock them"; many men wear them hidden under the trousers. The Kayová say they are not familiar with the hair band for the legs, using, however, a different one, y-asó, made from the shell of a small water animal of like name; it is put on boys at an early age, there being attributed to it the virtue of preventing snake bites.

[184] [237] [192] [751]

881 [751] [824] During the days of menstruation the Ñandéva girl repeatedly washes her head in cedar water /Port. agua de cedro/ in order not to have headaches. The Kayová administer to the adolescent, like tea, an infusion of yvyrá rapóguasú root.

The prescribed measures are largely similar to those taken during the couvade, with the difference that, even today, they are much more rigorous, at least during the first days. They include absolute seclusion in the cubicle of the hut that the father takes it upon himself to shut up in such a way that hardly any daylight enters. The girl stays there isolated, without being able to go [191] out (except for physiological needs) or to receive visitors, lying down in the hammock or bed of boards, but without the strict prohibition against touching the ground that is found in other Brazilian tribes. In any case, however, the Mbüá take the precau- [352] tion of building for the girl a very high bed in order to stay far enough from the ground and not to be reached by the yvýdjá, spirit of the earth. The common prohibition against putting the hands on the hairy skin of the head is not known. During the resguardo the "patient" has scarcely any contact with the persons of her own family; even these speak softly to her and she answers in the same way.

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• 881 [364] [297] In front of the hammock or the board bed, the father or brother lights a little fire for light and warmth, or else a small candle of iraity (wax of wild bees), since in the dark there would be danger of odjépotá. An old Ñandéva woman told me that when she "passed from one age to another" the resguardo was so rigorous that she was not even allowed to blow up the fire that was lighted in her cubicle at night; it fell to the brother to take care of it.

881 184 When she goes out to satisfy a need, the girl should have her head and body wrapped in a cloth; she does not go very far from the house and, at least among the Ñandéva, is accompanied by her mother. Among the Mbüá she goes out alone, but looking only at the ground and walking quickly.

881 212 [263] The essential part is that the menstruating girl nourish herself only on "chosen food" and in small quantity, besides being insipid or prepared with little salt. Aside from the principal food, small fish or birds ("light meat"), she is given sweet potatoes, beiju (mbeidjú) /a paste made with manioc flour/, chicha, etc; the father, brother, or some cousin takes it upon himself to get the birds or catch the fish for the "patient."

It is necessary above all to avoid the meat of game: deer, anta, paca, queixada /white-lipped peccary/, catêto /collared peccary/. [184] Tatu, so they tell me, is allowed among the Ñandéva and prohibited among the Mbüá. Even the meat of some birds is prohibited: baitaca, among the Mbüá; baitaca, juriti, inhambu, and jacu among the Ñandéva. The latter enumerate further among the restrictions: beans (except pole beans), coffee, pork and beef, as well as fats. The non-observance is bound up with negative consequences for the health. Thus, the Mbüá say that the peccary would give tapeworms, while parrot and tatu would give "crazy head." The Ñandéva, in turn, insist on the danger of epilepsy ("attack," ẽ-ó-á) for the girl (and for her future children, according to Poýdjú of Araribá) who does not abstain from game, and they believe that baitaca and juriti would cause heavy bleeding during menstruation. The meat of deer in particular is responsible for the "attacks," in the opinion of both the Ñandéva and the Kayová. The use of inhambu meat, the Ñandéva say,

881 262 753

2: Schaden--112 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1982 SM4 Guarani SM4

/92 cont./

881 262 753 would cause the girl to have weak eyesight. The oldest Ñandéva woman of Bananal told me that she owed the possession of still good teeth to the fact of having finished the resguardo without salt. At Araribá, too, they told me that the menstruating girl should [263] avoid salt, in order not to lose her teeth early. The Mbüá believe that the girl would become very thin if she ate salted foods.

881 82 In the opinion of the Ñandéva and Kayová the greatest danger that hangs over the menstruating girl is that of the odjépotá. "The one who gives the odjépotá /93/ to the girl," an Indian from Araribá told me, is the karuguá or Arco da Velha /rainbow/, which to her "appears as a person in order to make her lose her senses; then she becomes pale, pale, until she dies." Another informant at Dourados told me that the girl should not look at any boy, in order not to be the victim of enchantment, nor at the countryside, for she would be enchanted by the animals, who would become stirred up because of her. Among the Ñandéva of Pôrto Lindo I heard the explanation that the seclusion itself is done in order to prevent the odjépotá on the part of the animals, particularly the jaguar, deer, and anta.

[ML] The Mbüá do not allow the girl to walk in the forest, in order not to be the victim of snakes or the yvyrádjá (spirit of the trees"), they do not let her cross a river, so as not to be caught by the ýdjá ("spirit of the waters), or touch some stone, because of [184] the itádjá (spirit of the stone"). I have the impression that the animism expressed in these beliefs is a peculiarity of the Mbüá, for I have not encountered it in any of the other subgroups of the [171] tribe. It seems to approximate, however, the beliefs recorded among the Tenetehára of northern Brazil (2).

2. /From p. 98 of the original source./
Wagley and Galvão, 1949, passim.

881 882 178 During the intermediate weeks between the first and second menses, the girl stays at home or in the immediate vicinity, but without the rigor of the observances that gave strength during the days of the crisis. The Ñandéva say that in olden times the girl "let herself be kept in" the whole month, until the end of the second menstruation, but nowadays it is no longer so, "because of the national girls."

179 /93 cont./
881 They say that, because of this relaxation, the Guaraní girls of
882 today fail to have the "respectful" attitude of the ancient ones.
[181] (There is, therefore, some idea of moral "education" bound up
841 with the resguardo.) But at least the majority still take the
882 trouble to repeat the resguardo during the second menses, al-
182 though with less rigor in the restrictions. After this, however,
the acute phase of crisis is considered more or less overcome.
184 Among the Kayová, however, the period of relative isolation is
881 prolonged for months yet, during which the girl keeps her head
882 covered, avoiding contact with persons outside the family, and
so forth.

181 The time of the resguardo represents for the adolescent a
868 period of apprenticeship in manual skills, a sort of school of home
881 economics. Although some say that the girls are given training
only "in order to be distracted," others insist that she "does not
stay idle, no," and has to occupy herself: "it is in order to
learn." And, as soon as the days of the monthly period have
elapsed, there is much to learn: to prepare food, to pick over
cotton, to spin, to plait hammocks, to sew, to cut out clothing,
to make akanguá (diadems), djeatsaá, mbaraká. But /94/ nat-
urally "she could not work at anything heavy." At least among
[603] the Mbüá the teaching is administered by the grandmother,
paternal or maternal.

121 With the abstraction of the specifically educational aspect
75 of the resguardo of the menstruation, it is essentially analogous to
[881] what is demanded of the parents of the newborn baby: measures
[846] imposed in reaction to a state of extraordinary physical and super-
natural diathesis. The similarity is also shown by the comparison
of the myths concerning the two situations narrated by the Ñandéva.

881 Nowadays the Ñandéva men do not use tembetá (labial orna-
178 ment), nor do they pierce the lower lip of the boys. But it is prob-
[301] ble that they have known the practice in former times: otherwise
it would not be understandable that in their mythology they rep-
resent Tupí with a luminous tembetá. Nowadays, however, they

/94 cont./

881 178 pay little attention to the phenomenon of masculine adolescence. Only in the village of Jacareí have I had information that the boy, 881 when his voice changes, is subjected to the resguardo in order not 825 to be the victim of odjépotá and so that there will not be incarnated in him certain spirits, particularly of animals such as anta, jaguar, etc. The spirits of female animals would be incarnated in the boys, just like those of male animals in the girls. The resguardo of the boys is practically reduced to not eating the meat of ani- [868] mals considered dangerous spirits. It is at this age that they learn the manufacture of adjó (carrying baskets) and sieves, the tasks in the clearings, the construction of traps, and other things.

881 384 [184] [178] The Mbüá practice the piercing of the lip, but they do not seem to attach exceptional importance to it, at least in general. In the group now established in the village of Rio Branco, a doctor-sorcerer, some decades ago, decided without much ado to abolish the practice; he is supposed to have explained his attitude by saying that "today one can no longer live as in ancient times."

[301] [824] The orifice is minimal, almost invisible, and in it is worn (but not always) a fine toothpick of taquara. The piercing is not necessarily done by the fianderú. Any man of the village can perform it, using a splinter of pindo leaf-rib. It is preferred, however, that all the boys of prepuberal age (about ten years old) existing in the group submit to the operation simultaneously. Any person, including those of the female sex, may be present on the [752] occasion. The patients are not considered in a state of odjékóakú, [278] and the wound is only treated with peanut /Port. coró/ oil (ytxótxim).

/95/ An essential condition is that the boy must have previously [115] passed through a period of apprenticeship under the orientation of [868] his father or some person entrusted with it, during which he has been instructed in the techniques of plaiting and other skills -- so that he does not become lazy, according to the explanation of 881 Pablo Vera of Yroÿsí. In Rio Branco the Indian Karaí or Marcelino 867 Rosa explained to me that the ones being initiated receive a series 57 of recommendations or counsels (which he called "education"). [115] They are more or less the following: "work a lot, plant well, do

2: Schaden--115 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/95 cont./

881 867 577 not do harm to anyone, do not offend the families of others, do not mistreat anyone, behave well on journeys (that is, do not drink much liquor), have the tasks in the clearing done well, do not mistreat the woman when married" (3).

3. /From p. 98 of the original source./
Schaden, 1948c, p. 162.

[178] This enumeration is particularly interesting because of betraying the consciousness of so many problems that afflict the community in its present phase of cultural transition.

881 [184] [829] Only the Kayová give ritual emphasis to the piercing of the lip of the boys, with ceremonies of a religious stamp and not only measures of a magical nature. For the Kayová the celebration is the event that stands out most in his life cycle. Nevertheless, in the nuclei of southern Mato Grosso the celebration (called there kunumĩ-pepỹ, or kunumĩ-piéta, hybrid form) is doomed to disappear, an inevitable consequence of the dominant [114] new conditions of life in these groups. The data that I have were obtained principally in the village of Amambai.

[756] It is the ñanderú (paĩ) or doctor-sorcerer who decides on holding the celebration. Failing to hold it for a very long period, the community would be the victim of misfortunes. The common [304] [561] interval between one celebration and another, varying according to the number of boys of an age to have their lip pierced (between 8 and 12 years old, more or less) is about four years, on the aver- [628] age. On this occasion the Kayová of two or three neighboring villages gather together.

[243] In general the kunumĩ-pepỹ coincides in the respective year with the maize celebration, avatĩ-mongaraĩ (ceremonial harvesting of the first maize), which is held when the corn is ripening, that [561] is, from January on. For the piercing of the lip there ought to be about ten boys of the age indicated; those who are more than twelve years old no longer undergo the ceremony. Therefore there are adults who do not have the labial hole. As early as a year [262] in advance the candidates start avoiding heavy food, especially certain game, preferably nourishing themselves with chicha.

/95 cont./

• 881 The father or the mother of the boy, or both, undertake to conduct him to the village where the celebration is held. During the period of the ceremonies, which in general extends up to May, [782] [829] /96/ there are prayers every night and also during the day. "Because they do not have anything to do, only that prayer," according to the expression of the Indian Vicente of Amambai.

[756] Preliminarily the flanderú chooses and teaches the huitxá, "the chief of the kids" /Port. chefe dos guris"/, who subsequently [782] sings with his companions for many nights the prayers that he has learned, which are called kunumí porahéi. The boys "se resguardam" /guard themselves/, for they are in a state of (odjéhóakú) during this period which precedes the piercing and which can be prolonged for many months ("if the flanderú orders"); and after the ceremony, the resguardo continues until the womnd is healed, "until the flanderú lets them go, it is the flanderú who should know." The boy that does not se resguarde /guard himself/ with enough care, "grows up badly," that is, "he has illnesses." The resguardo, which does not include fasting, consists mainly in [262] the abstinence from meat. After the lip is pierced, the boy [752] nourishes himself on ripe bananas, principally avoiding mandioca flour, for otherwise it might get into the hole and it would be ruined (4).

4. /From p. 98 of the original source./ As a curiosity I shall note that in the interior [304] of São Paulo there is the belief that, after they [262] pierce the ear lobes for the use of earrings, the [752] girls are supposed to abstain from certain foods, especially mandioca flour and eggs. (A personal communication from Ruth Corrêa Leite Cardoso.)

[784] The boys, of course, are also not allowed to work.

[252] The boys have their own cook, a spinster or a widow. A [834] married woman cannot take on the task, for the cook should maintain sexual abstinence; if she sleeps with a man, the food would [562] be bad for the boys. The woman may not, like any other woman, [304] be present at the ceremony of the piercing of the lip.

/98 cont./

881 784 The initiation is a matter of rigorous secrecy, in which one who has not had his lip pierced does not participate. It is unheard of that women and children or foreign individuals would have witnessed the ceremonies. There is little probability, unfortunately, that any anthropologist will one day succeed in obtaining permission to observe them. Not even dogs, horses, or other domestic animals may remain in the vicinity, having to be carefully tied.

881 782 [115] The kunumí-pepý is not only a religious celebration for those being initiated, but for the whole male population of the united villages. The men sing a series of different prayers, corresponding to different aspects or phases of the ceremony. My informant, Vicente of Amambai, enumerated five prayers.

[192] [386] [624] The first refers to the ñemonguý, the black dye of yváporoý tý (the same name in Portuguese), with which the spot for the labial hole is marked. The spot is marked by the yvyráídjá, that is, an officiant assisting the ñanderú or paí.

881 782 304 621 [192] [622] [456] [273] The second prayer refers to the yvyrárakuá, a wooden instrument for making the hole. The yvyráídjá also has the office of piercer -- the ñanderú only gives orders -- he is seated on the apykâ, the ceremonial bench; in front of him there is another apykâ, on which is put first the /97/ "chief of the kids," or huitxá, then in turn the others (called the ivódjá), who wait their turn seated in a line on a series of apykâ to the right and left. The piercer always stays on the same apykâ; the candidates, made drunk beforehand with chicha, are brought before him. Another yvyráídjá, who stands beside the piercer, puts a tembetá-mirim in the newly opened orifice.

881 782 The third prayer refers to the tembetá (5):

[301] [824] [314]

> 5. /From p. 98 of the original source./ The tembetá, measuring in general 8 to 15 centimeters long, and in exceptional cases up to double that, is made of the resin of tembetá-ý (also called mbavý; in Portuguese: pau-vidro /glass tree/), which looks like yellow amber. The resin exists in sufficient quantity only after

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the winter, in September and October, that is, at the time of the "new leaves." In order to make the tembetá, one makes lozenge-shaped cuts in the bark of the pau-vidro, fastening under them a fine tube of takuarý (a suitable taquara because of having quite long sections), into which the resin runs for about two days. One or two days after that, when the resin has hardened, the taquara is broken away, the tembetá is smoothed with lixa-do-mato /polisher-from-the-forest/ (ambá-ý, a tree with rough leaves), the lower tip is fined with a knife, a stone splinter, or shard of glass, and a stud of the same resin is put on the upper part.

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the fourth is related to the apyká; the fifth, finally, to the act of taking the boy out of the cubicle in which he is found, in order to take him to the center of the village plaza, where the ceremony is held. None of these prayers is taught to the candidates, who have their own songs.

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One point must be especially accentuated, the one at which the crisis state of those being initiated reminds one of the couvade. Thus, just as the father -- and, with him, the mother -- are subjected to a series of restrictions, not only for their own benefit, but above all for that of the newborn baby, the ñanderú who directs the ñunumí-pepý, as well as the yvyráidjá who help him, are bound by the resguardo until the boys are healed. They do not eat meat, do not come in contact with fire, do not take hold of knives, machetes, and other iron objects, having also to maintain rigorous sexual abstinence. All this until the boys are healed, because "otherwise the hole is ruined." The sexual resguardo mentioned here might well be qualified as a Tobias period.

2: Schaden--119 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4
Kayova

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881 825 [582 624] Capitão Alberto of the Kayová village of Amambai told me that the tembetá is necessary "in order to arrange for a woman," that is, for marriage; whoever marries without having the lip pierced is in great danger of becoming a victim of jaguars, snakes, or even sorcery: he is more "odoriferous" for the jaguars. Nowadays, however, not all have a pierced lip. In any case, the piercing is essential for the formation of the male-cult personality among the Kayová. 881 156 The man who does not have a labial orifice is not allowed to participate in the songs and dances of the annual celebration of the "baptism of the maize," avatí-mongaraí. According to the information of Matçal de Souza, such a restriction is not imposed on the women. Concerning the non-initiated boys, however, they are only allowed to attend the ceremonies. /The notes for Ch. VI appear on pp. 97-98 in the original source./

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Chapter VII

The Chieftaincy of the Community

622 621 Nowhere has contemporaneous Guaraní society managed to constitute an organization of state type: in the tribal culture, the idea of civil and political authority has had rudimentary development. According to traditional patterns, the political chieftaincy of the group coincides with the charismatic leadership of the priest or doctor-sorcerer. [596 623] This may or may not coincide with the authority of the chief of the great-family. The chiefs of great-families, gathered in counsel, form a sort of informal senate, of consultive and deliberative function, without there inhering in it, among the present-day Guaraní of Brazil, any great authority 624 based on some institution. In the groups more subject to influence 621 from the civilized world, the political power is concentrated, at [648]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Cayuá, and diadems, headbands, armbands, and feather collarpieces are mentioned.[80] It may also be supposed that the cotton or *caraguatá* belts, which are now so commonly used and prized by the Cayuá, were also formerly known. Métraux comments, in connection with the use of cotton and *caraguatá* as weaving materials, that the Cayuá are the only Tupi-Guarani tribe to use indifferently cotton and other vegetable fibers for weaving.[81]

The Cayuá loom was the simple upright frame, with vertical posts planted in the ground. The top horizontal piece was laid in forks in the uprights, and the lower horizontal piece was tied to the uprights at the distance required. The warp was usually composed of a single continuous or knotted piece of yarn passed around and around the horizontal loom pieces. No comb or bat was used, apparently, and the woof was put through the warp by hand. The product of the Cayuá loom was a creditable article, nevertheless, and simple dyeing was practiced with several plant colors available. Women were, as they now are, the weavers of the Cayuá.[82]

Fishing lines, and cords and ropes for heavier purposes, were twisted from various vegetable fibers. Some of the ropes were strong enough to hold large animals when these were caught in nooses made from them. Since very early times the Cayuá have used metal obtained from European needles or other sources for fishhooks, so it is difficult to say what the aboriginal article may have been.

Cayuá tools and weapons included the bow and arrow, already mentioned. The bow was round in cross-section, and the arrows were two-feathered. Métraux mentions triple feathering of arrows for the Cayua,[83] but no other suggestion of this has been encountered, and it is not present in modern arrows. Clubs were formerly used by the Cayuá. Notched axes of stone and knives of bamboo are indicated,[84] but it is not known what form of aboriginal hoe or hoe-like implement was used, if any. The digging stick, or *sarakwá*, was the primary agricultural implement aboriginally, and possibly the only one; it is still in use today, not only by the Cayuá but by local Neo-Brazilians.

Cayuá men wore the long lip-stick or *tembetá* ("lip-stone"), which in their case was customarily made of the translucent resin of a certain tree. This ornament and symbol of initiation and a man's status is still in use among some Cayuá, although modern examples appear to be shorter on the average than some of the extremely long ones reported for the past—up to thirty and more centimeters. Face painting for women and children is indicated for the

[80] Métraux, 1928, p. 150. [81] *Ibid.*, p. 232.

[82] The weaving of cotton was one of the household industries of Guarani women of which the Jesuits have made considerable mention in connection with the economic organization of the missions. Some of this production was apparently sold on the outside, and the priests seem to have made much effort to inculcate the industry in their female wards.

[83] Métraux, 1928, p. 75. [84] *Ibid.*, pp. 98–99.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 home-made product turned out today, these breeches have completely non-
291 functional strings at the bottom, below the calf, as if intended for use with (non-existent) stockings, boots, or puttees. The Cayuá do not even tie the "vestigial" leg strings but let them hang free. Men's shirts generally follow what was probably some former long-sleeved European model. They do not open completely in front, being only partly cut down from the neck.

Women wear sack-like dresses of store cloth, which may not be entirely different from the so-called *tipói* dress of aboriginal times. They correspond generally to the shapeless "Mother Hubbards." There may be some influence here from the dresses introduced by the Jesuits.

*177 Men's belts are woven much as formerly, but the material is now more often
*178 *caraguatá* fiber than native cotton—despite the fact that a belt of cotton is usually preferred.[126] In spite of the preference for cotton, however, practically
286 none of it is raised now by the Cayuá at Taquapiri. The laborsome use of native cotton has been obviated by store-bought cloth in many respects other
291 than belts, and the fiber of the wild *caraguatá* will serve the few remaining purposes of the domestic textile plant.

Caraguatá fiber is now used almost exclusively for making hammocks, although some informants insisted that the cotton hammock was preferable. Except for present tying of hammocks and weaving of belts, nothing survives of the aboriginal textile art, which supposedly had once attained a modest development among the Cayuá.

*178 Various wild fibers are still twisted to make lines for fishing and cords for
824 heavier purposes, but human hair is no longer used to make belts or wristlets
283 and anklets. *Caraguatá*, *pindó* palm, and *mbohadjá* fibers are the most fre-
237 quently used today.

The lip stick, or *tembetá*, of resin is still in use at Taquapiri, and an initia-
*178 tion of a number of boys took place shortly prior to our arrival in the village in
• 881 1943. The main feature of the initiation is the perforation of the lower lip for
304 the insertion of the *tembetá*. However, Taquapiri is reputedly alone among the Cayuá villages of its immediate neighborhood in conserving this trait; the *tembetá* has been completely abandoned among the younger men of the village where the SPI post "Benjamin Constant" is located, near União. Even at Taquapiri, moreover, there are several young men, long past the age of lip perforation, married and with children, who do not use the *tembetá* for never
[825] having been initiated. Their fellows twit them about being mere "boys," and they are said to be in special danger from jaguars, but it seems likely that they are only the first representatives at Taquapiri of what has been the trend away from the practice elsewhere among the Cayuá.

*178 Face painting with *sruc*', a reddish plant substance widely used in South
302

[126] One of the Cayuá women spied a large ball of cotton string we had and with considerable enthusiasm suggested making belts out of it, which they did.

/37 cont./
000 father's death, the boy is taught by the paternal uncle.
•881 On the occasion of the first menstruation of the girl, they
562 shave the hair off her head, leaving her in a room in which no
person will come during the menstrual period, except the mother
[515] of the girl. It is the mother who takes food to her and who, be-
sides this, takes her each evening to a nearby brook, where the
girl takes a bath. This is done during the first two menstrual
periods and the event is common knowledge in the aldeia. From
[262] then on this practice is suspended. The same dietary restrictions
[431] that are imposed on the pregnant woman hold equally for the girl
during the first menstruation. On this occasion the father also
usually gives the girl a new dress.

The initiation ceremony for the boys is held every five or six years approximately, and on this occasion the boys of the community between eight and thirteen years of age are initiated. There are cases in which the boy postpones his initiation until the age of 20, which, nevertheless, is undesirable from several points
[796] of view. After the ceremony of the "first fruits," which in gen-
[346] eral terminates at the end of February or at the beginning of March,
the boys, while they are being initiated, remain in the large com-
munal house, which constitutes the social and religious center of
[252] the aldeia. The boys' parents send foods there, which are cooked
[869] there for them by one of the single girls of the aldeia. During
the day the boys may do what they please, but at night they re-
ceive instruction and learn a large number of songs. This goes
on for several months, until the performance of the final ceremony.
[304] /38/ On this occasion the boys' lower lip is pierced in order to
install the tembetá, a very thin stick of resin, and nowadays
measuring about four centimeters in length. Only the men of
[273] the aldeia may attend the ceremony and participate in it. Before
the piercing of the lip, the boys are given a portion of chicha,
[593] which is the fermented drink made out of maize. In the adminis-
tration of the drink the father of any of the boys who are being
initiated may not take part. Once the lip has been pierced, each
[352] boy sits on a small seat of wood made by the father. If the father
[784] of one of the boys, as is sometimes the case, has a very small
[843]

/38 cont./
881 son or a pregnant wife, he may not make the little seat, because
562 it would be dangerous for the life of the baby or of the child to be
[352] born, and, besides, the seat would easily break because the re-
[784] striction had not been observed. For this reason the man may
ask, in the first place, the sister's son and, secondly, the brother's
[843] son, that he make the seat for him. In the year in which a man
has a son who is being initiated, he needs a great quantity of
[824] maize. If, by chance, the father has had a bad crop or lacks
maize, he will turn to his brother or to the wife's brother, asking
him for help in providing the necessary quantity of the commodity.

[178] Although this initiation of the boys has disappeared in a large
number of Cayuá aldeias, it continues to have great importance
[184] in Taquapirí. A youth is not considered a man until he has his
lip pierced. The Cayuá naturally know that this is not true in a
[304] biological sense, because a boy may still become pubescent be-
fore his lip is pierced. The boys who have never had the lip
[753] pierced later suffer from some ailment. This ailment ordinarily
[262] appears in the form of pains in the legs and arms. During the
ceremony and for some six months afterwards the boys cannot eat
[753] beef and pork. If he fails to respect the taboo, the man will later
be afflicted intermittently with giddiness, headaches, and states
of debility. Many attacks of this nature might overtake him, but
[824] it is known that one of them is going to cause his death. Nowadays,
however, some of the boys have a plant that they pulverize and
eat together with beef and pork, countering in this manner the
bad effects of the meat.

581 Marriage: Marriage constitutes perhaps the most important
[594] social event in the social life of the Cayuá. In the first /39/
place it establishes a new series of social relations for the indi-
viduals concerned and for their relatives, and, in the second place,
the basis is formed for a new elementary family, and the elemen-
tary family is the fundamental economic unit of Cayuá society.
584 It was in connection with marriage that we found one of the
178 changes that has taken place in the last 20 or 30 years in the Cayuá
kinship system. Previously it was the mothers, that of the young
man and that of the young woman, who arranged the marriage,

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

178 a cabo (Vogt, 1904, p. 203). Today the number of Indians under the
622 authority of a chief vary from 20 to about 100.
621 The members of the ancient *Guaraní* communities built the houses of their chiefs and tilled their fields and harvested their crops (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 49).

685 **Law and order.**—It is only about modern *Caingué* communities that
756 there is some information on justice and law. Thieves are detected by
695 shamans, who touch each suspected man on the chest near the heart. If
684 the fingers leave a red mark, the man is guilty. A stolen wife must be
682 returned with a present. In case of murder, if the criminal's relatives do not pay the wergild to prevent a feud, the offended family takes the punishment into its own hands.

576 **Etiquette.**—Among ancient *Guaraní*, when a guest entered a hut, he
574 was surrounded by women who wailed and enumerated the deeds of his dead relatives. The guest covered his face with his hands and shed a few tears. The amount of crying and wailing was proportionate to the importance of the visitor (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52).

LIFE CYCLE

843 **Birth and naming.**—Even in modern days, a pregnant woman must
846 avoid any food that might make her child abnormal. After childbirth, the father lies in his hammock until the infant's navel cord falls off, re-
842 fraining from activities thought harmful to the baby. The *Apapocuva*
775 believe that babies are reincarnated dead people, hence one of the shaman's
756 first tasks is to identify the returning spirit and, by means of his super-
789 natural power, to obtain a magic substance to be rubbed into the child's
851 body. Infant baptism, though Catholic in many respects, is permeated
177 by ancient rites and beliefs. Names refer to mythical beings or to sacred
178 objects associated with the place on the horizon from which the soul is
551 supposed to have come. Children may be very closely identified with
77 the deities of the Upper World, and those from the west, the abode of Tupã, may receive a miniature of the bench symbolic of their divine namesake. In case of danger, especially if a person is sick, his name is changed
553 and a new ceremony of baptism is performed (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, pp.
851 302–303).

.881 **Boys' initiation.**—A *Caingué* boy undergoes something of an initiation rite when, prior to puberty, his lower lip is perforated for the insertion of
[273] a labret. After a group of boys has been somewhat anesthetized with beer,
[412] a specialist perforates each boy's lower lip with a wooden or deer-horn
[237] awl and prays to Tupã that the labret may protect its wearer against death.
[273] For the three following days the initiates eat only maize mush. After their initiation they drop the infantile "u, u" (yes) for the adult masculine "ta."
[195]

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

Girls' puberty.—Among ancient *Guaraní*, at her first menstruation, a girl was sewn in her hammock and remained there for 2 or 3 days. Her hair was cut short and, until it grew to its former length, she had to forego meat and to work hard under the supervision of an older woman. For modern *Caingué* also, coming of age is a critical period which calls for many ritual observances; the girl is secluded for 3 weeks behind a screen in a corner of the house and eats only a few foods, which must be lukewarm. She must not talk, laugh, lift her eyes from the ground, scratch herself, or blow on the fire. She must also listen to advice concerning her future life as a wife and a mother. Before she resumes normal activities, a shaman washes her with a special decoction.

178 881. [756]

Marriage.—There is little information on marriage in ancient times. Girls were married soon after puberty. Child betrothal is reported among the *Guaraní* of the Paraná River. In some cases little girls were given to grown men, who lived with their child wives, probably in the house of their future parents-in-law.

178 582 584

Child betrothal is reported among modern *Caingué*, but the girls remain with their parents, who receive presents from their prospective sons-in-law. The preferred form of marriage seems to have been between cross-cousins and between a maternal uncle and his niece. Union with a mother and her daughter and sororal polygyny can be inferred from allusions in the Jesuitic literature. Only chiefs and influential shamans seem to have been able to support several wives. Some powerful caciques are said to have had from 15 to 30 wives. The levirate is stated by Ruiz de Montoya (1892, p. 49) to have been observed by chiefs. Today residence is patrilocal.

595 [174] [622] [756] 587 622 591

Death.—So strong is the hope for reincarnation that a dying *Apapocuva* (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 307) accepts death with great fortitude. He sings medicine songs while women wail and the shamans chant, shaking their rattles in farewell to the departing soul.

763 775

Among the ancient *Guaraní*, as soon as a man had breathed his last, his wives and female relatives gave the most violent demonstrations of grief, often injuring themselves by flinging themselves to the ground from some elevation (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52).

178 152. 764.

The ancient *Guaraní* put their dead into large chicha jars and covered them with a bowl. These funeral urns were buried up to the neck (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52).[6] Modern *Caingué* bury their dead directly in the ground with arms and legs flexed against the body or lay them with their possessions in a wooden trough or hollowed tree trunk.

178 764

Both ancient and some modern *Guaraní* bury their dead in the hut, which is immediately abandoned. The *Caingué* of Paraguay inter the

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[6] Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52: "... muchos enterraban sus muertos en unos grandes tinajas, poniendo un plato en la boca para que en aquella concavidad estuviese una asentado el alma cuando estas tinajas los enterraban hasta el cuello."